

NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

VOL. 1, NO. 43

WAR CENTER SHIFTS TO EUROPE

Green-Woll Forces Suffer Heavy Setback At AFL Convention

Rift Among Fakers Gives Industrial Unionism an Opportunity; Red Resolution May Fail to Pass

By A. J. MUSTE
The fortunes of battle ebb and flow at Atlantic City in this most exciting convention of the American Federation of Labor since the war. While the convention is still in progress as we go to press and a definitive evaluation must wait until its close, certain assertions can safely be made as a result of the events of the last couple of days. The rift in the leadership between the Green-Woll and Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky, etc. forces is out in the open. There will be a more open and intense struggle between various tendencies in the Federation during the coming year than at any time since the early 1920's. Thereby genuine progressive and militant elements are given a magnificent opportunity, if they know how to take advantage of it.

The old guard received a stunning blow when John L. Lewis arose in the dramatic fashion he knows so well how to use and asked (after the regular time for presenting resolutions had expired) for unanimous consent to introduce two resolutions. Amid electric tension two dis-honored old guard leaders, Wharton of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, objected under the resolutions were first read.

The Slam at Woll

Thus the drama was heightened, which undoubtedly was just what

MUSTE SPEAKS ON A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

A. J. Muste will speak on "Lessons of the Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L." on Sunday evening, October 27 at Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street, N.Y.C.

Lewis wanted. His first and most important resolution, which after his reading of it was referred to the Resolutions Committee, would forbid any officer of the A. F. of L. from holding membership or office in the National Civil Federation, the peace-between-capital-and-labor organization founded by Mark Hanna, which in recent years, with Matthew Woll as acting president, has been the notorious Ralph Easley as secretary, has specialized in red-baiting and other forms of extreme Toryism. The Lewis resolution was, of course, aimed primarily at Woll himself, leading spokesman and strategist of the old line craft unionists in the convention. To smear Woll as one primarily identified with an organization outside the labor movement and against which a deep resentment existed at least in many of the unions, and thereby to deprive the craft unionists of their right to claim that they are the only sin-pure pillars of trade unionism, was Lewis' aim.

That his shot took effect in a vital spot was indicated when only a few hours later Woll announced that he had resigned from the National Civil Federation! Never, at least in the past 30 years, has a leader of Woll's prominence in the A. F. of L. "lost face" so swiftly and thoroughly.

Not only was this a blow at the craft unionists' position, but Lewis' stroke also served to discredit the "red-baiting" proposals of Woll and Company and the indications now are that the two-thirds vote necessary to pass the amendment to the A. F. of L. constitution barring all "Communists" from membership will not be obtained, and that at best the old guard will be able to put over some comparatively mild resolution against the "reds."

Industrial Unionism Edged Out

On the other hand, as the NEW MILITANT predicted last week, the advocates of a clear-cut resolution for industrial unionism in the mass production industries proved too optimistic in their expectation that they could get a majority in this

Plan Fight For Herndon

Georgia Negro Is Given "Death" Sentence on Chain Gang

The refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to rehear the case of Angelo Herndon has given added importance to the work of the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense. It was stated yesterday by Mary Fox, secretary of the newly formed defense body which includes representatives of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, the General Defense Committee, the International Labor Defense and several other defense bodies.

In addition to holding a conference in New York on October 19, the Committee is planning a variety of activities to push the signing of petitions and to increase the pressure on Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia for the release of Herndon. The Committee has already issued a pamphlet, "Wisdom, Justice and Moderation—Motto of the State of Georgia," which tells the story of the Herndon case. Copies may be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Ave., at 2 cents each.

The Herndon case deserves the support of all militant working-class elements. Tried under an old "slave insurrection" law, Herndon was convicted for the crime of organizing white and black unemployed together in Atlanta and fighting for better relief. His conviction was a blow at organized labor and all elements who dare challenge the existing social order of the Jim Crow South.

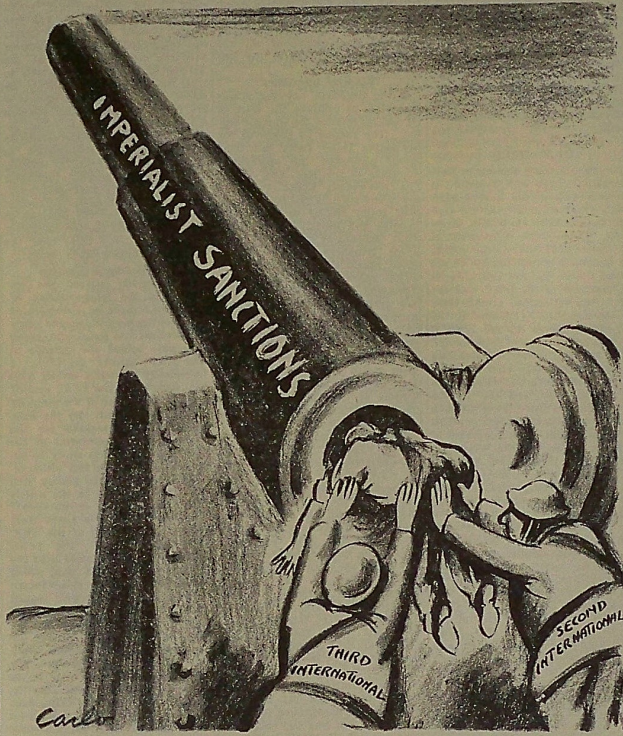
The U. S. Supreme Court hides behind technicalities in order to evade the real issue. His body, which some people praised so highly for its attitude in the Scottsboro case, lines up in the Herndon case, lines up with the Bourbon rulers of Georgia. The latest Supreme Court decision is really a sentence of death against Herndon, since few if any people have ever lived through 20 years on a Georgia chain gang.

Tarow Relates Torture of Real Bolsheviks in Stalin's Prisons

By A. TAROW

Hundreds and thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists are languishing in Stalinist prisons. Only yesterday I was one of them, and together with them I underwent every conceivable brutality at the hands of the Stalinist jail keepers. Today I find myself in a semi-capitalist country, a "free man." Said to say, it seems to me that there is no free spot for a revolutionist on our planet. But for better or worse, today I have the opportunity to speak out publicly in protest against the Stalinist oppressors. My duty as a revolutionist obliges me to turn to the world proletariat with an appeal for help to free from the Stalinist jails the devoted and true revolutionists, the martyrs—the Bolshevik-Leninists. The world proletariat must learn that the land of Soviets as such is perishing imperceptibly, for Soviet power is unthinkable without a party of active and self-reliant Communists. That is why the struggle for a genuine Communist party, the struggle against the usurpers and the plebeian regime is a struggle for the salvation of the Soviet system from fatal degeneration.

To acquaint the working class with the condition of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the U.S.S.R. under the Stalinist regime, I intend to sketch briefly my own personal experience, in its unvarnished form. On June 30, 1934 I escaped from exile, from the city of Andijan, having in view



Partners in Social-Patriotic Betrayal

The Stalinists find yeoman support in their battle for sanctions in the New Leader, New York organ of the Old Guard Socialists. The New Leader, an old hand at reformism, gives a much clearer theoretical and practical explanation of the sanctions policy than the novice Daily Worker. It is in the New Leader that the real basis, purpose, and effect of the sanctions policy is made all too clear. We quote from the issue of October 12:

"With the exception of small extremist groups who take the Trotskyist position that the Socialist parties and labor must reject any cooperation with democratic governments and the League of Nations in its efforts to curb Fascist Italy, organized labor throughout the world through its political and economic organizations has taken a determined stand in favor of sanctions and armed resistance, if need be, to the war policies of Mussolini and Hitler, placing itself squarely behind the League. . . .

"Only small groups of utopian

isolationists, embracing the Trotskyist position . . . fail to see the issue in this light."

Here is a clear and unashamed exposition of the social democratic position on war, manifested at present in support of government sanctions. Before we deal with it in detail it is important to note: The social democratic betrayers who have moved not one inch from the traitors' role of 1914, now at the approach of a new 1914, distinguish themselves in this fundamental question only from "the small extremist Trotskyists."

A military writer once remarked that "war is merely the continuation of politics by other means." Add to that the dictum that "Politics is merely the extension of economics on another plane," and you have the basis for a Marxian analysis of the war question.

In the period of imperialism, the present period, the economies of the various capitalist nations are in constant conflict in their efforts to

expand. No matter what political form they may take these economic conflicts never cease for a moment. Now they take the form of a "peaceful" struggle for markets, now a diplomatic struggle, now a warlike struggle. Politics is merely the outward form of this struggle which, change as it may, cannot do away with the struggle.

War is one of the political forms of this struggle. War is not some exceptional phenomena, it is simply the logical outcome ("the extension") of the struggle. In the imperialist epoch war is almost unending; sometimes in the form of mere diplomatic threats, sometimes in the form of economic boycotts, sometimes as colonial expeditions, sometimes as open large scale wars.

The treachery of both the Stalinists and the social democrats begins when they regard war as some extraordinary event, some political phenomena apart from and exceptional to the ordinary run of politics.

(Continued on Page 4)

Britain - Italy Threaten War For Control of The Mediterranean

N. Y. Mass Meet On War Crisis

In response to the grave danger of a new imperialist war flowing from the League of Nations policy of sanctions and the need for solidarity with the Ethiopian people against Italy's robber war, the New York District of the Workers Party has called a mass rally for Sunday evening, October 20, at Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street.

Maurice Spector, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and one of the pioneers of the present movement for the Fourth International, will be the main speaker.

Japs Plotting China Grab

Threat of U.S. War Over Market Snatch During African Trouble

By LO SEN

Echoes from Ethiopia, bringing nearer to Europe the thunder of a new imperialist world war, have already resounded ominously against the troubled sounding board of Asia. Japanese imperialism, in the full stride of its own expansion on the Asiatic continent, has directed its readiness to squeeze the last drop of advantage out of Europe's preoccupation with the crisis precipitated by Mussolini's African "adventure."

The "utilization" of imperialist contradictions is by no means, unfortunately, the exclusive monopoly of "realistic" Stalinist bureaucrats. Events of the past week along the China coast and at the Soviet-Manchukuo frontier already offer sufficient assurance that the crisis cannot develop much further in Europe without leading to new explosions in Asia.

Japan Moves In

Great Britain, as part of her hurried preparations to counter Italy's African advance, has transferred practically her entire Asiatic fleet from its China station to the Mediterranean and Red Sea ports. The response of Japanese imperialism was so prompt as to be almost automatic. A strong Japanese flotilla dropped anchor in the harbor of Swatow, a Kwangtung port in the

(Continued on Page 4)

France Caught Between Two Fires; Germany Waits Opening

The flare-up in Ethiopia is rapidly taking on the proportions of a world conflagration. Inside of less than a month the smokescreen behind the colonial "incident" has cleared up and the real contents in the struggle have become fully revealed. It is now evident that we are confronted not merely with a case of national rape but with a major inter-imperialist struggle.

Great Britain and Italy are at each other's throats in a fight for control of the Mediterranean. Fascist Italy, at last embarked upon the conquest of the much heralded new Roman Empire. For more than one reason, Il Duce's decision is irrevocable. The Mediterranean is the indispensable gateway to empire. British imperialism, in control of the Mediterranean for generations, must maintain control of the route to her plundered possessions in India, Australia and Far East as a matter of self-preservation.

Faced with a national economy declining to ever new lows and the first symptoms of internal rebellion, the Fascist dictatorship has grasped at the Ethiopian adventure with the frenzy of a drowning man grabbing for a straw. That the blackshirts were not unaware of the impending clash with the British colossus is evidenced by the fact that on the first day of the invasion the entire Italian press has been conducting a systematic agitation against England, largely as a protective measure to stiffen the backbone of their own hosts in preparation for the worst eventualities.

England Acts Rapidly

The navy stationed at Downing Street have likewise worked overtime to check the desperate offensive of the Fascist upstarts. Without any serious opposition they have cloaked their campaign for imperial self-preservation with the moral authority of the League of Nations. They have even involved France—for whom, as the major beneficiary of the Versailles system, Italy is just as important an ally as England—in a policy of sanctions against Mussolini carried through with such speed and sweep as to leave the diplomats of the Quai d'Orsay in an extremely embarrassing position. They have contradicted Mussolini's invasion and the troop movements of the Fascist General Staff with the complete militarization of Egypt and their other colonial possessions in Africa and with the greatest naval concentration in the Mediterranean since the last world war. The battle lines between the two imperialist powers have been drawn. Both sides are prepared to plunge wildly into the new holocaust.

The French imperialists, whose whole system of security hinges today upon the task of bringing about an Italo-British rapprochement, have been left floundering in the midst of an internal crisis. Rome has rejected any proposal of concessions of retreat. The British have refused Laval's mediation in the naval conflict. The French bourgeoisie is thrown into a terrific turmoil by the diplomatic dilemma. The cabinet of M. Laval is due to fall in the midst of the strife between the pro-British and the pro-Fascist factions.

The rest of the European nations are drawn into the same vortex of conflicting currents. Nazi Germany maintains a "neutrality" that has its eye peeled for the prospects of entering the fray with an attack in the direction of its formidable Eastern neighbor. Japan threatens

(Continued on Page 4)

NEXT WEEK

The series on the Socialist Party and its program, "The Socialist Militant," will be continued next week with an article on the "Militant" answer to the Bauer-Zyromski thesis on war and the S.P.'s National Executive Committee's resolution on the war danger.

(Continued on Page 2)

LEFT JABS

**LOVESTONE'S SPEECH AT THE
7th WORLD CONGRESS . . .**
Under the streamer "Lovestone"

Speech at Madison Square Garden the Workers Age prints a speech which they claim Lovestone would have delivered at the C.P. membership meeting if Browder had given him permission. Again the Workers Age scored a scoop. Spurred to action by the enterprise of the Lovestone paper we have secured an equally imaginary speech which Lovestone would have delivered at the 7th World Congress if Stalin had but crooked his little finger in his direction.

In the report of the Madison Square Garden "speech" the following statements by Lovestone appeared: "At the outset I must underscore the fact that I emphatically support the leadership of the Communist Party, and I am commending the Party to be commended for granting us the right to address you here to night. . . . I want to assure you that I will not abuse the privilege granted us by speaking long. . . . It is with profound regret that we are asked to speak at this time. . . . Congress has, either by way of omission or commission failed to check this serious right danger in the Comintern. Believe us, dear comrades, it is not as alarming critics, not as chronic critics that we would sound the alarm," etc., etc. etc. After reading the above, one can see that the kind it was not difficult to write the account of Lovestone's appeal to the Seventh World Congress.

LOVESTONES' APPEAL . . .

"I want to humbly thank the Communist International with our dear comrade Stalin, best disciple of Lenin, at the head (Loud laughter from all parts of the hall shouts: "You'll have to learn to sing better than that") for the privilege of begging forgiveness to my errors. I now pledge support to our great leader Stalin who has always been correct. (Loud laughter and shouts: You're a bit better with that, fellow. How can we trust you? I have always fought against Trotskyism. I expelled the American Trotskyists. I sent gangsters to raid their homes." Browder

interjects: "How about your robbery of our National Office?" delegates: "Throw him out!") . . . Chairman Darcy: "Is there any delegate here who wants Loveston to continue?" All shout "No!" Loveston kneels in silent prayer.

* * *

**WOMEN'S DEB DENOUNCES
LOVESTONE . . .**

Martha Stone, leader of the working women of America, takes the floor and denounces the right opportunist Lovestone who had opposed the decisions of the great leader Stalin. (Congress cheers for 45 minutes. Japanese delegates shout "Banzai!" British delegate "Hear, hear.") Lovestone jumps on a chair and sings: "One, two, three, four, who are we for—STALIN! Stalin! Rah! Rah! Rah!" (Ed. Note: The Lovestone group actually did this at the 1929 convention of the Communist Party held in New York.) Lovestone begs for a chance to work in the C.I., with Stalin at the head.

STALIN TAKES THE FLOOR . .

As Stalin arose to speak the Congress went into its usual two-hour orgy of applause and singing. Stalin in: "Many comrades have made mistakes. (Radek interjects: "Quite right!") Mistakes will be made in the future by other comrades, big mistakes. (Loud applause.) We must always correct mistakes. Self-criticism is necessary to our party. We tried, dear comrades, to correct the mistakes of Lovestone. You know how crystal pure were my intentions. (Stachel: "How true

how proud!" Comrades, can we trust Lovestone? No, dear comrades, we cannot trust Lovestone. Does that mean, comrades that he cannot work in our party? No, comrades, that does not mean that he cannot work in our party. I propose that he be given work in the Communist Party of the United States. I propose that he be put in charge of Hatheway's People's Front election campaign on the Eastern Coast of New York City. Now Lovestone poshion von, poshobovone (Russian for scat). Lovestone backs out from the hall bow

ing lowrepeatedly and crying:
"Thank you, comrade Stalin, thank
you dear comrades. Down with
Trotskyism. Thank you, comrade
Stalin."

* * *

A FEW MORE SUGGESTIONS . . .

Following the great acclaim with
which the reading public received
"Lovestone's Speech at Madison Sq.
Garden If He Had Been There" we
suggest some new titles to the editor
of the Workers Age. Lovestone's
Radio Speech at Valley Forge;
Lovestone's Speech at Carnegie Hall;

**SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE
NEW MILITANT CAMPAIGN**

Tarow Relates to Prisoners and Exile Under Stalin's Regime

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

RENEWED MENACE TO CHINA

Japan will not miss its opportunity to make further inroads into China while the other imperialists are preoccupied with the Ethiopian situation. There is every indication that Japanese imperialism is preparing more extended operations for plundering China. A series of extraordinary meetings of the Japanese army and navy commanders and the diplomatic corps are in progress. One meeting is to take place in Dairen October 13 to 15. A second in which the various consular officials in China are to receive instructions from the army is scheduled for October 16 in Shanghai. A final gathering of all army commanders to work out details of the next steps in the seizure of China, also planned in Shanghai, will take place on October 20 and 21. The prominent members of the Japanese Military Attaché in China, Maj. Gen. Isogaye, provide several keys to what is intended. A "great movement of the North China problem is in the agenda. The Kwantung government is told plainly what is expected of it by its imperialist ally. "We do not wish to provoke a crisis in North China but we think that the Chinese will themselves make all the necessary changes to assure the establishment of authority with a responsible person at the head who would have Japan's confidence. . . . However, should a crisis arise which would endanger the lives of foreigners, Japan will be ready to make sacrifices to take the necessary steps for establishing a strong North China regime." What this means is the setting up of an extended puppet state to include the five provinces north of the Yellow River: Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shensi and Shantung, all now under Japanese control.

WHICH THEATRE OF WAR?

There have been previous indications that Japan wishes to add to its present bout with Outer Mongolia. This territory is not nearly so important economically as Manchuria, but its control by Japan would determine the main theatre of war in the coming struggle against the U.S.S.R. Manchuria is too close to Japan to suit the Japanese strategy. Soviet aircraft are a menace that cannot be neglected. The seizure of Outer Mongolia would permit greater safety to the attack from the northwest corner of Manchuria, from the railroad line running from Hailar to Manchuli, on the border of the most important railroad junction in Eastern Siberia. Chita is the point at which the main line of the Trans-Siberian Railroad (to Vladivostok) joins the branch line to Manchuli. The seizure of Chita would cut off communication with the Maritime Provinces over this railroad and would make the main seat of war the territories about Lake Baikal. Already special Japanese divisions in full war strength, with large numbers of tanks and armored cars are concentrated about Hailar. The military railroad from Jabov Province to Dolonov was built to

aid the penetration into Outer Mongolia. But the attack on Outer Mongolia can only mean the prelude to war against the Soviet Union.

ATTACK ON SOUTH CHINA

The plundering of China is not to be confined to North China alone. The situation at Swatow threatens to become the pretense for the beginning of Japanese invasion into South China. Already all shipping to this port is forced to pass between two lines of Japanese cruisers and destroyers, holding the harbor in a tight grip. The Japanese object to the tax imposed by the Canton militaries on rice imported into Kwantung Province, which raises only a two months supply of this necessity for thirty-five million people. The Japanese have been using this as a pretext for sending cheap Chinese rice into the province. The seizure of a small quantity of this smuggled rice has precipitated the issue, Japan claiming a violation of the treaty permitting only the national import tax, not involved here. By this pretext Japanese imperialism seeks to gain control of the vast trade of the East River District of Kwantung. At the same time this is a blow at the Canton militaries whose military machine is based on the so-called agricultural tax. The Chinese are suffering along a fifty-mile front in Kwantung, expecting momentarily an ultimatum, to be immediately followed by invasion. The reactionary handi-organizers of Japan will hardly organize any real resistance to Japanese encroachments, no more than the "central" Kwantung leaders, Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Ching-Wai. On the contrary, these corrupt betrayers of the Chinese people into competition to become the first to sell out to the imperialists. The other imperialist powers are greatly disturbed at the present situation, seeing in it not only the potentialities of another Shanghai incident, but also a fresh move of Japanese imperialism. American warships have been sent to Swatow to take care of "American interests."

Shachtman Phil. Meeting

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Oct. 15.—Warming up for his national tour, Comrade Max Shachtman opened the season for the Workers Party educational forum here last Sunday evening with a lecture on "The Truth About Trotskyism." The speaker dealt very effectively with Olga's slanderous pamphlet, "Trotskyism, Counter-Revolution to the Revolution," exposing all the fallacies and ruses of the right against the living leader of world Bolshevism and the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. A mass of evidence was produced, much of it from Olga's own writings, to expose the Trotskyist baiting campaign. The audience was attentive and asked many questions. Comrade Shachtman summed up and spoke of the need for a new revolution, not international of the working class.

International Workers School

55 EAST 113 STREET, N. Y. C.

Second Year—Fall 1935, Beginning October 21, 1935.

- ORGANIZATION PRINCIPLES**—Martin Abern. Monday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Eight sessions. This course will analyze party structure and methods of work. Open only to members of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League.
- FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF MARXISM**—Ben Borkeown. Monday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions. An elementary course which will trace the basic economic and political features of capitalist society, the development of the modern class struggle, the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the dictatorship of the working class and the role of the revolutionary party.
- PROGRAMMATIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORKERS PARTY**—J. G. Wright. Wednesday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions. An advanced course which will analyze the contradictions of the imperialist epoch, the rise and degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals, the struggle against Fascism and war, the working class struggle for power and the need for the Fourth International.
- CURRENT TRENDS IN AMERICAN TRADE UNION AND POLITICS**—J. G. Wright. Wednesday, 8:40. Eight lectures. Lectures on the A. F. of L. unionization in the basic industries, the capitalist political parties, the third party movements, the Socialist and Communist parties.
- THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF KARL MARX**—Rubin Grote. Thursday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions. An advanced course which will consider the origins and social roots of Marxism, the materialist conception of history, Marx's economics, the class struggle and the political party, theory of the state and working class internationalism.
- STATE AND REVOLUTION**—J. Weber. Friday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions. The course will deal with the origin and development of the state from the earliest times to present day capitalism. A detailed discussion of the capitalist state machinery, the role of the working class towards the capitalist state and the role of the workers' state.

Fees: \$1.00 per course, 50c payable at time of registration.

For information, write to: International Workers School, 51 East 113 Street, New York City.

(Continued from Page 1)

ourselves, in protest against the bestial treatment of the prison administration. We were often beaten, the guards fired their guns through our cell windows, with the result that one of our comrades, Yessayan, was shot in the chest. He demanded a commission, but, as a rule, we were refused.

The Hunger Strike

Then, 485 imprisoned Communists went on a hunger strike that lasted 18 days. A Commission arrived, transferred three "improved prisoners" to other penitentiaries, and exiled the wounded Yessayan to Siberia. Thus, if "improved" our position. And then, another Commission came next year and offered our sentence. For this reason all of us who were imprisoned in the Verkhne-Uralsk penitentiary went on a hunger strike, in protest against this unheard-of lawlessness. We began our strike on December 11, 1933. On December 20 the hunger strikers were dragged from their cells—in order to search the latter. Then they were forced to eat a bowl of soup, a new sentence, three years in exile. But for some unknown reason he refused to allow me to read the sentence myself. This, of course, was a common trick of the apparatus henchmen. They probably wished to scare me with a new sentence so as to make me antipathetic to the hunger strike. I became completely convinced that the miserable functionaries had long ceased being communists, that I had to deal with a gang of hard-boiled bureaucrats who were incapable of understanding the integrity of a sincere revolutionary worker. Nevertheless I decided to go to Moscow, and personally speak with the upper crust of the party apparatus, in order to find out at last precisely what it was that I was asked to do. I was told that a sort of people were who strike against revolution and socialism and communism and compel me to consider my purely communist views as counter-revolutionary. In May I sent a telegram to the C.E.C. with a request for permission to go to Moscow to have some personal interviews concerning my case. This request was refused, with an answer: "But it was impossible, there was no answer. My attempts to gain permission to go to Moscow for personal interviews were not crowned with success. Then I decided to go to the Soviet Union by the rail route it became all too clear to me that no one would listen to me in Moscow, and that I would be immediately arrested for having fled from exile. I had no choice left, except to escape abroad."

Turn From His Family

My renunciation of the Oppositionist struggle was sincere. Even at the present time I still hold to this point of view. From 1933, after the victory of Fascism in Germany, I took the position that all the communist and revolutionary forces of the entire world had to be united against the Fascist reaction, no matter what the cost, without regard to the internal differences between proletarian organizations, no matter how serious these might be. This is the point of view that I defended among the comrades. But I was not content to agree to solidarity with the world revolution. I emphasized in my letter of April, 1934 to the Central Committee. I always held and still hold the standpoint of a stubborn and merciless struggle against the apparatus bureaucracy which has usurped the rights of our party. My sincere letter and telegram to the C.E.C. and the G.P.U. were assumed, however, by the bureaucracy as the first step of an ignominious capitulation. The miserable bureaucrat considered that I had become worn out in prisons and exile during the last two years, torn and shattered by family, my wife and child, that I could bear up no longer and was ready at last to kneel before the G.P.U. pleading for mercy. The miserable bureaucrat overlooked that in my letter I asked no mercy, but demanded the restoration of my party rights. The miserable bureaucrat evidently attached no importance to my words when I said: "I cannot for the party to be a bystander. I am a revolutionary and I am unable to see passively in order to keep my belly full. I am an active communist—I still am and will remain so. I will do anything or anybody in this world that can sever me from my genuinely communist convictions; I consider and will continue the views of Trotsky and his followers to be genuine communist views. These views are a direct continuation of the views of Marx and Lenin."

A Bureaucrat and a Communist

Never in my life have I run across so malicious and cynical a functionary as the head of the local G.P.U. section, Margolin by name, who, after reading my telegram to the C.E.C. and the G.P.U. addressed me as follows: "Now, you tell me about your organization? Who was the leader of the Opposition movement in the Caucasus? Where did you function actively? We must make it hot for these Trotskyists." The miserable

Given Long Terms Without A Trial Revolutionaries Are Beaten and Shot

functionalism became confused when I refused categorically. I told him: "Up to now I fought against the C.E.C. and I fought according to all the rules of the Opposition; I attacked the responsibility of the struggle against the leadership without proceeding from considerations of my own personal welfare. I have in mind the necessity of a just struggle on the part of all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat against the advancing counter-revolution. I cease the struggle not because I am in agreement with the opportunist views of the bureaucracy, but because I hope our party will still succeed in restoring its rights and drive the brazen usurpers from its ranks."

But whom are you telling this to? The apparatus bureaucracy. Of course, well understood my letters and telegrams. That is why I refused to reply to my application. I remained in exile, without any new sentence having been passed on me. For some how or other, the government finds it difficult, without even a false document, to sentence one of its citizens to some sort of punishment. The fact of the party bureaucracy's boldness in isolating and torturing the Oppositionists until they publicly turn into so many rags, i.e., into miserable, political bastards, the bureaucracy just does not want you to be a real communist. He has no need for it. He finds it harmful, and mortally dangerous. The bureaucrat does not want a self-reliant communist, he wants a creature, a groveler, a sycophant and a bystander of the worst type. That's what he needs. He does not want a Communist party, he tolerates only the name in order to use it for his own ends. Hence, I can say, the bureaucracy has attained its goal in many cases. Many Oppositionists were unable to withstand the harsh and interminable struggle and they capitulated. But in my case, the bureaucracy made a mistake.

Communist Despite All!

In jail, in exile, and emigration I remained what I was a Communist, a devoted defender of the Soviet power and of the socialist constitution. The land of the Soviets is my homeland, in the socialist sense of the word. I am a Communist under the rule of the enemies of the proletariat it would be alien to me. I am always ready to the last moment of my life to fight for the Soviet Union. It is conceivable that under a genuine proletarian rule the struggle against bureaucrats, thieves, and plunderers who unscrupulously appropriate Soviet wealth and the fruits of the revolution, and cause for ruining hundreds of thousands in hunger and cold—is it conceivable that a struggle, or even a mere protest against these scoundrels would be considered a counter-revolutionary crime. For my fight was for internal proletarian party democracy; I fought for a Leninist program, and Leninist statutes of our party. I fought and I will continue to fight against the self-appointed leadership and party apparatus bound by mutual oath. For, according to the statutes of our party, the elected party, the Central Committee, the C.E.C. and the G.P.U. are to be re-elected annually from top to bottom. But what do we see today? The post of party secretary has become a sort of speciality. If, for example, a Kalyani had served 8 years as secretary in the C.E.C. of Georgia until the membership would no longer tolerate him not only as the secretary of the Georgia Central Committee, but as the whole, then this specialist in the craft of General Secretaryship departs from Tiflis, on the good counsel of the supreme authorities of course, and hides himself to Alma Ata, again as General Secretary of Kazakhstan, and a Mirzoyan belongs to the same species as Kalyani—from Baku to Uralak, as the secretary of the District Committee.

It is not only the case that the party leadership feels itself absolutely under no obligation to the party masses who presumably elected him. They recognize only such authority of the upper crust of the party apparatus as flows down the shameless servility and the shameful mutual covering-up of the bureaucratic upper-crust. Of course, under these conditions the party mass puts no trust in the leadership. As regards the non-party working class masses, the latter see the party only in the form of the apparatus, and put no trust in the Communist Party as a whole. Hence flows the administrative pressure upon the party and the working class. That is why all these, Trotsky's friends and exile areas are crammed today with non-party and non-party workers. And there is no need to talk about the peasants. I do not intend to go into the differences between the Opposition and the leadership, but I think it necessary to say a few words on the question of the struggle against bureaucracy which so much

is being written in the official press, so much other made by outstanding officials—as if they, too, are not loth to struggle against bureaucracy. But in reality, let us take one dare point a finger at a bureaucrat who is in prison, or in exile, or at any rate, unemployment. And do any of you know what it means to be unemployed under the present regime? It means outright ruin for the party, the working class, the nation. He wanders from one office to the next, and is refused everywhere, despite the fact that suitable work is available. Everywhere every conceivable personage finds employment, there are jobs for thieves and swindlers. But there is no job for a man who comes out against the bureaucracy.

Destroying the Revolution

At party and workers' meetings the assembled are in complete ignorance of the situation, driven to meetings. Not only non-party but even party workers are very reluctant to go to meetings. At the meetings, "bold" speeches are made by the party and the local trade union parrots. They can be so bold as to always and everywhere praise the leadership, beginning with Stalin, and then down the hierarchy of the party. Then a resolution is presented, and the assembled are terrorized by labelling as counter-revolutionists anyone who dares to object even to a single point in the resolution. Naturally, such a situation in the country tends to discredit the authority of the Soviet power and of the Revolution. The party leadership has despotically terrorized the entire party. But what was the result? A complete lack of the conscious party discipline which was once the pride of our party. Bureaucratic discipline in the party, a mechanical discipline. Hence, it is not easily understood why all sorts of grafters, charlatans, and shady characters of every description—thieves of the "gentleman" type—have been able to rise to the top. In the party the Soviet, and trade union apparatus, and consider it their native duty to look upon Soviet wealth as their own "property." And who is there to guard this property? There is no one to punish them for the plundered national resources? The rank and file communists? Sad to say, the latter have been frightened by prison, exile, and the Soviet islands, which for many long years the boldest communist and non-party workers, under lock and key, behind bars. It is really possible that the world proletariat will maintain silence while in the land of the So-

The brazen bureaucracy of the Stalinist regime will label my words counter-revolutionary. Let them label them as they will. My duty is to tell the truth, and the hands of the world are the most dependable evidence in the hands of the proletariat against its enemies. Indeed, if all the working class organizations told the truth and nothing but the truth, then the Stalinist world proletariat over its enemies would have been assured long ago.

A. TAROV.

August 4, 1935

Plenum Meets; Plans A Campaign Against War

The third plenary meeting of the National Committee of the Workers Party, held at New York October 4-9, adopted resolutions on the main party problems and issued the call for the second convention of the party which is to convene December 26 at New York. The intensive discussion which has been taking place in the party ranks since the June meeting of the N. C. is to be continued at membership meetings and in the party internal bulletin until the convention.

The plenum held open sessions with the New York party members and numerous delegations from other cities in attendance. Party opinion on the main questions, which has crystallized in the course of the intensive discussion, was reflected also in a strong consolidation of the leadership at the plenum. All the important political resolutions presented by the Political Committee were adopted by a vote of 18 to 2.

The first point on the agenda was devoted to a discussion of the Leninist position on the war situation and the preparation of the party to meet the war situation. Party activity in the next period is to be organized around a campaign on the question of war, public agitation being supplemented by intensive study and the party campaign in the ranks. In addition to the party statement issued by the plenum the Political Committee was instructed to prepare material for the branches.

Extended discussion took place on the subject of international relations and the struggle for the Fourth International which stood as the second point on the agenda. The resolution of the Political Committee, adopted by a vote of 18 to 2, declared in favor of an international conference to proclaim the establishment of the Fourth International and expanded full solidarity with the International Communist League and the R.S.A.P. of Holland in their common struggle against the imperialist war. The tactics of the Bolshevik-Leninists in entering the French Socialist Party were specifically endorsed. The proposal of comrades Oehler and Stamm to convene the National Committee of the Bolshevik-Leninists in this respect, already rejected by the overwhelming majority of the party in the pre-

vious discussion, was likewise rejected by the plenum. The reference to our French comrades as "capitalists" was branded as impermissible slander which has nothing in common with the attitude of the Workers Party.

Comrades Stamm and Oehler were similarly isolated on the general resolution dealing with tactics and methods of building the party and our attitude toward opponent organizations. The resolutions on the internal situation drew attention to the repeated violations of party discipline committed by the Oehler-Stamm group and the repeated denunciations and warnings of the political committee and the protests of party branches against their disruptive course. The resolution specifically provided that the opposing comrades are to be assured full party democracy in the pre-convention discussion as hitherto. Their resolutions and articles are to be published in the internal bulletin for the information of all party members and they are to be given adequate time to present their point of view in the branch and general membership discussion meetings. As a further safeguard of the rights of the minority, the party campaign on the question of war, public agitation is to be organized on the basis of proportional representation. At the same time the plenum resolution gave the Oehler-Stamm group a full hearing for their criticisms of discipline and acts of disruption and disloyalty to the party will not be tolerated.

Following the plenum the party swung into action through its campaign on the war question and in other fields, while also carrying forward intensive discussion in preparation for the December convention.

CHICAGO MEETING
"ETHIOPIA"
Beginning of a New World War
Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
SUNDAY, OCT. 27, 2:30 P.M.
Capitol Bldg., Room 412
159 N. State Street
ADMISSION FREE
UNEMPLOYED FREE
Aus: Chicago branch of W. P.

expressed (in this paragraph): (1) Prohibition for the unified party of tomorrow to pursue any policy of

Green-Wall Suffer Big Setback

Lewis knows that the sentiment of the rank and file in his own union and among the workers generally is such that anyone who now seeks power and influence among the workers must place himself in the role of a progressive fighter, even a "radical".

The vote on the craft union resolution already referred to indicates that the old guard is far from liked. It would be dangerous for anyone to attempt to lead the union ahead. It would be downright suicidal to get a false conception of the role Lewis himself may play. He is a friend rather than a man, more subtle and powerful even than the mere has-beens, Woll and Green. But the indications which the convention has given of his attitude and hard-balled politics of the old guard, gauge the spirit of leadership among the workers, place of a rift in the A. F. of L. leadership such as have never before existed. The convention of the future of its history, opens wide the door for a mighty advance in building the left wing in the various unions and in the A. F. of L. as a whole.

Take the offensive! Press the fight! Fight for the workers! Bold. That is what the Atlantic City convention says to the militants.

Hot China Grad

arily in the maintenance of its tire battle fleet in Pacific water. It was in 1915 that Japan, taking advantage of the World War situation, demanded that the United States "One Demands" on China. American pressure after the war forced Japanese retreat from the position gained. But since 1931 Japanese imperialism has extracted from the United States "One Demands of 1915 ever as a for. For this American imperialism will sooner or later have an accounting and a settlement with Japan.

In the further development of events in the East and the Mediterranean bring a forcible settlement of all outstanding international disputes once more into the order of the day, the Wall St. head of of U. S. Imperialism has to know the European situation in hand the strong-arm squad, Marines and all, will go to work in the Pacific. And any reader of the Daily Worker in these weeks may be sure to know when that time comes, the American lackeys of the Stalinist bureaucracy will be calling upon us to unlimber their guns and to get it that reactionary-Fascist-fueled, and the generals for the defense of democracy and the Soviet Union!

or the stupidity of the argument
re some Stalinists, who still have
no grain of class consciousness

the government now, they say, when it turns in another direction toward war with the Soviet Union we will oppose it.

This the Stalinists consider to be another smart trick, like their act of supporting the British imperialist government and at the same time calling for insurance companies to insure the teachers. For by advising workers to support their bureaucracy and their government the Stalinists bring those workers under the influence of the government. And when that government teaches workers to look up to and rely on that bureaucracy and government.

And when the future the experienced Stalinists decide to change their line again they find that the workers no longer are under their influence . . . the workers are under the influence of the bureaucracy and the government, under the "influence" of officers in the army.

Not only do the Stalinists advise the workers to support the government, but they also advise them to support the League of Nations. The League of Nations is not more than the sum of the robber imperialists. If one imperialist government is a reactionary force, how reactionary is a league of fifty-two capitalist governments? The League of Nations is a league of robbers, the international robber imperialists. If one imperialist government is a reactionary force, how reactionary is a league of fifty-two capitalist governments? The League of Nations is a league of robbers, the international robber imperialists. If one imperialist government is a reactionary force, how reactionary is a league of fifty-two capitalist governments? The League of Nations is a league of robbers, the international robber imperialists.

Burglars Union, no more, no less. It has not changed one whit since the day Lenin called it "the 'This Kitchen of Geneva.'"

Meeting

years of the
REVOLUTION
speakers:
ARNE SWABECK
MAURICE SPECTOR
7th -- 8 p. m.
ing Place and 15th Street
N. Y. District 55 E. 11th Street.